THE BOON'S LICK TIMES.

JAMES R. BENSON & CLARK H. GREEN,
Publishers and Proprietors.

TERMS.

THIS PAPER is published weekly, at $3 in advance, or $4 at the end of the year. No paper will be discontinued but at the option of the Editors until all arrearages are paid—and a failure to give notice of a wish to discontinue will be considered a new engagement.

Rates of Advertising.

One dollar per square, of twelve lines, or less, for the first insertion, and fifty cents a square for each subsequent insertion.

For one square 12 months, twenty dollars.

Merchants or others advertising *by the year*, to the amount of fifty dollars and upwards, will be entitled to a deduction of one third, where a regular agreement is entered into.

Where the insertion of an advertisement is ordered, without the number of insertions being specified, it will be inserted, (in the discretion of the proprietors) until forbid, and charged for accordingly.

All advertisements from strangers, as well as all orders for job-work, must be accompanied with the cash, or a reference to some responsible and convenient acquaintance.

From the Georgia Journal.

BRAVE TIPPECANOE.

Hail to the Hero in triumph advancing,
Honor'd by us be his ever dear name—
Long may these States, with his bright banner glancing,
Be happy and cherish his glory and fame.
Lord give him wisdom too,
Always thy will to do—
Boldly to press on, careless of a few,
While ev'ry tongue and pen
Sends back the shout again,
Honor the Hero, brave Tippecanoe!

Harrison's no slim sapling, by chance near a fountain
Blooming in spring, and in winter to fade—
When storms others leaves have clean stripp'd from the fountain,
The more shall we freemen exult in his shade.
Moor'd on the tried rock,
Proof against slander's shock,
The deeper he roots while the ruder it blows!
Free men and women then,
Sound forth his praise again—
Honor the Hero, brave Tippecanoe!

Rouse, freemen, arouse, and remember your station,
Stretch to your oars for the cause of your land;
Oh that the people composing this nation
Were once more united in one solid band.
Oh that our younger men,
All united again,
Honor'd and bless'd in its favor might grow;
Loud with his praises then
Sound forth from babes and men—
Honor the Hero, brave Tippecanoe!

Hail to the bright prospect that rises to vision,
Harrison and Tyler are gaining conquest;
Banners of freemen lead ev'ry division,
And voices with voices proclaim him the blest.
May his glory in the West
Soon fill the distant East,
The brighter to shine and forever remain.
States all in the Union then
Will shout a loud amen,
Honor the Hero, brave Tippecanoe!

WHO PAYS?

The expenses of carrying on the Federal electioneering campaign is beyond all precedent. Who pays? In all the large cities and in most large villages extensive log cabins are built and occupied as federal electioneering rooms. In some cities, we believe they have a log-cabin for every ward. These log cabins cost from $200 to $1000 each. Who pays?(1) These cabins are every night splendidly and richly lighted. Who pays? They are furnished with scores of papers from all parts of the Union, many of them daily, and cost $14.70 a year, postage included.—Who pays?(2) Thousands and tens of thousands of the Washington Madisonian and Portland Eastern Argus Revived are circulated *gratis*. Who pays? There are about 700 federal periodicals in the country, each of which circulate hundreds of extra papers daily and weekly, and many of them thousands. Who pays?(3) A great many tens of thousands of the various lives of Harrison are circulated *gratis*!(4) Who pays for the paper, ink, workmen, writing, &c.? Many tens of thousands of *false* histories of Van Buren are printed by the feds and circulated *gratis*, to deceive the people.(5) Who pays? Many tens of thousands of lying political pamphlets are circulated *gratis*. Who pays? Men with horses and carriages perambulate the country and do nothing but electioneer for months together. Who pays?(6)—*Belfast Rep. Journal.*

(1) Those of the cities are paid for by subscription. The people pay—merchants, mechanics, doctors, lawyers, any body who has the means and the liberality to do so. No part of the expense is pilfered from the public chest.

(2) The papers, for the most part, are turned in by individual subscribers, who take papers for themselves, and after reading them pass them into the log-cabins for others to read. This means of spreading information, and particularly these frequent meetings for discussion, seem to annoy the Tory office holders sadly. Perhaps they better get up a sedition law and stop these factious proceedings.

(3) This is a humbug story. A few papers may be circulated gratuitously, by those who can afford to pay for them, but the administration men circulate five to our one.

(4) This is another big story. Some are doubtless distributed by men who are willing to contribute to aid a good cause. Such men deserve credit.

(5) The Rep. Journal has never seen such a history, and cannot produce one. It is Holland's Life of Van Buren that is referred to. That work admits that Van Buren was opposed to universal suffrage, and that he opposed the re-election of James Madison. To obviate the effect of this, the Locos are trying to throw dust in people's eyes by raising a report that there is a spurious edition of the work in circulation. But no man has yet been able to find such a spurious copy.—Possibly the office holders may yet get one printed, but they must be pretty expeditious about it if they get it out before election. In numerous instances, when the whigs have quoted from Holland's Life, some unsophisticated loco has pronounced it the spurious copy: but on comparing it with the genuine one in the book-stores, it was found just the same. One of these was lately sent to Mr. Van Buren himself, by his friends in Illinois, and he was obliged to admit it was genuine.

(6) Who pays? Why they pay themselves. They ride and talk, and work, and foot their own bills, or some few friends contribute something to pay expenses. It is no easy matter to put down an administration which has an hundred thousand office holders under pay, and all fighting like Swiss mercenaries for pelf and plunder, with half

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"ERROR CEASES TO BE DANGEROUS, WHEN REASON IS LEFT FREE TO COMBAT IT."—JEFFERSON.

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the presses in the country at their command. It can only be done by severe effort. Men are obliged to spend their time and money, what little they have, to bring about a better order of things. Men whose business has been ruined by the administration, have found some employment in struggling for a political reform, and they have the satisfaction of seeing that they have not struggled in vain. They have not spent much money, however, for they had not much left to spend. They have fought the regular troops of the Executive in the cheapest way: they have carried their bread and cheese in their pockets, and talked and argued by the way side, in school houses and churches, in groves or log cabins, or under the broad canopy of heaven, drinking from the limpid spring or the running brook, or taking nothing stronger than "hard cider." This is the way the business has been done thus far. Thank heaven, neither the tongues or the pens of the people are stopped as yet, and they will not be until this corrupt and squandering administration is driven from power, and the honest old farmer of North Bend is called to the white house at Washington.

One who has been long under *pay* himself for his political services, may well inquire *who pays* for all these efforts of an abused people: but the truth is, the work has been done on *credit;* it is not yet paid for, and the *reward expected* is a *better government*, an honest and faithful administration.

And now we would ask the locos *who pays* for the Appeals to the "Democracy" which are distributed gratuitously by deputy Sheriffs, census takers, revenue officers, tide waiters, &c: who pays for the papers which are poured in upon those returned as doubtful or wavering by your secret committees? *Who pays* for the cart loads of Benton's and Duncan's speeches, franked by members of Congress? Who pays for the seventy thousand pamphlets which the Richmond Inquirer boasted had been distributed at the late Van Buren State Convention in Virginia? Have as many been circulated in all the other States in proportion to population? No doubt of it, and more too. These are all paid for by somebody. We do not say whether any part of it was contributed by Mr. Van Buren's friends among the British nobility, or whether all the twenty-seven foreign despotisms which Mr. Van Buren consulted as to the mode of keeping the public money, contributed an equal share, or whether it all comes out of our own public treasury in the shape of high salaries, perquisites or collusive government contracts, but it comes from some source, beyond question.

Kennebec Journal.

PRESIDENT "MUM."

"An admirable letter" is just published in the Pennsylvanian, written by Mr. Van Buren in answer to these queries propounded by six citizens of Philadelphia:

Are you in favor of a Protective Tariff?

Did you vote for, or support a property qualification for voters in the Convention of New-York?

Are you in favor of reducing the Standard of Wages?

Whether you are in favor of the Secretary of War's plan for the organization of the Militia?

These questions are not made for the purpose of unfriendly criticism, but only from a sincere wish to have your own views on these subjects.

The response to these questions is on the "mum" mystification, and humbug principles, which Mr. Van Buren is admirably qualified to reduce to practice. To the first question, he replies by referring to another letter written by himself. The second is answered by referring to the paper "prepared by his friends at Albany." The third question he does "not comprehend precisely;" and therefore he gives a string of words in reply which nobody else can comprehend precisely. And the fourth question he does not answer at all. Not a syllable of reference is made to it. And this letter his organ in this city considers "so admirable in itself as to render comment superfluous."—*Nat. Gaz.*

PRACTICE VS. PROFESSION.—Mr. Van Buren can be eloquent in praise of republican simplicity, but his example to his subjects is one of splendid ostentation. He identifies himself with a party which is ever railing against the luxurious splendor of the merchants and great manufacturers; he, by his peculiar organ, denounces the ostentatious habits of the wealthy among our citizens; he expatiates on the virtues of simplicity and frugality; he calls upon the laboring people to support him because their employers live in fine houses, use silver forks and drink Champagne and Burgundy. Yet this same Mr. Van Buren dwells in a palace, every apartment of which is crowded with gorgeous furniture; he reclines at ease upon superb and costly sofas, resting his small foot upon footstools of velvet and embroidery; he adorns his table with magnificent services of plate, and with artificial boquets that cost a hundred dollars a piece; he sips the choicest and most expensive wines from goblets of richly cut glass; and takes his airing in a splendid coach, drawn by horses that in the pride of their bearing seem to be conscious of the grandeur that surrounds their lordly master.

MAJ. EATON.—This gentleman, as we have already remarked, made a speech at Nashville a few days since. The Nashville Whig, in speaking of it, says:

He remarked, in the outset, that he heard it intimated that Gen. Jackson would not recognize him as a friend on his return to Nashville—that the ties of intimate association and personal confidence would be sundered, and that he, like hundreds who had gone before him, would be estranged from one to whose elevation he had contributed his best and earliest energies. He was happy to have it in his power to state, that thus far these predictions had not been verified. Gen. Jackson was in Nashville a few days since, on his way to the Western section of the State, and before he (Maj. Eaton) was apprised of his presence in the city, he found his hand grasped by the generous Old Soldier, who had so long honored him with his friendship and confidence.

RETRENCHMENT.—The TABLE FURNITURE of our "economical" President *only* cost $11,190 32 cents, a very insignificant sum to be expended in the people's house, for purposes so important to the preservation of the Constitution. Those, however, who may be so inconsiderate, so parsimonious, as to object to this expenditure, should recollect that he only charged the good people $22 for "*green finger cups*" to dip the tips of the fingers in after a five course dinner—which all must admit to be a momentous affair, and intimately connected with the success of civil liberty throughout the world!

Mr. Webster's Speech at Richmond before 15000 Virginians.

The President rose and introduced to the Convention, Mr. WEBSTER, who was received amidst the most tumultuous cheering, above which rose in every quarter the most inspiring cries of "welcome—welcome."

Silence having been in a few minutes restored,

Mr. WEBSTER rose and addressed the Convention as follows:

Virginians: The wisdom of our fathers, has established for us a Constitution of Government, which enables me to appear here to-day, and to address you as *my fellow-citizens*, [cheering.] and half a century of experience has shown how useful to our common interest, how conducive to our common renown and glory, is that Constitution by which we have been united. I desire to pay due honor to those illustrious men who made us—the children of those who fell at Bunker Hill and Yorktown—members of the same political family, tied together by the same common destiny, and awaiting together the same common prosperity or common adversity in all time to come. It is the extraordinary nature of the times, united with a long cherished desire to visit Virginia, which has occasioned me the pleasure I enjoy of being in the midst of you all to-day. I have come more for the purpose of seeing and of hearing you than of speaking to you myself. I have come to mingle myself among you; to listen to the words of your wise and patriotic men; that I may aid my own patriotic feelings by communication with the chivalrous spirits of this ancient Dominion. [Cheers.] But inasmuch as there are, or may be, some questions of national policy or of constitutional power, on which you and I differ, there are some amiable persons who are so very considerate of your reputation, as to signify that they esteem it a great breach of propriety for me that you should invite me to come here, or that I should come among you [Loud laughter and cheering, mingled with cries of "welcome, welcome."]—Let us hope that these amiable persons will allay their own fears.

If there be any question or questions on which you and I differ in opinion, those questions are not to be the topics of discussion to-day. No! We are not quite soft enough for such an operation as that. [Laughter.] We are battling together in the face of a common enemy—we are armed to the teeth—putting forth as many hands as Briareus, and with each hand dealing him all the blows we can—and does he imagine that at such a moment we shall be carrying on our family controversies! That we are going to give ourselves those blows which are due to him! No; he is the enemy of our country—we mean to pursue him till we bring him to capitulation or to flight; and when *we have done that*, if there are any differences of opinion among us, we will try to settle them ourselves, without his advice or assistance, [laughter;] and we will settle them in a spirit of conciliation and mutual kindness. If we do differ in any of our views, we must settle that difference not in a spirit of exasperation, but with moderation—with forbearance—in a spirit of amity and brotherhood.

It is an era in my life for me to find myself on the soil of Virginia, addressing such an assemblage as is now before me: I feel it to be such: I deeply feel the responsibility of the part which has this day been thrown upon me. But although it is the first time I have addressed an assembly of my fellow-citizens upon the soil of Virginia, I hope I am not altogether unacquainted with the history, character, and sentiments of this venerable State. The topics which are now agitating the country, and which have brought us all here to day, have no relation whatever with those in which I differ from the opinions she has ever entertained The grievances and the misgovernment which have roused the country, pertain to that class of subjects which especially and peculiarly belong to Virginia, and have from the very beginning of our history. I know something of the community amidst which I stand: its distinguished and ardent attachment to civil liberty; and its disposition for political disquisition. I know that the landholders which it contains are competent from their education and their leisure, to discuss political questions in their elements, and to look at Government in its tendencies as well as in the measures it may at present pursue. There is a sleepless suspicion, a vigilant jealousy of power, especially of Executive power, which for three quarters of a century has marked the character of the people of the Old Dominion: and if I have any right conception of the evils of the time or of the true objection to the measures of the present administration, it is, that they are of such a kind as to expose them, in an especial manner, to that sleepless jealousy, that stern republican scrutiny, that acute and astute inspection which have distinguished the present as they have all preceding generations of men in this ancient Commonwealth. Allowing this to be so, let me present to you my own view of the present aspect of our public affairs.

In my opinion, a decisive majority of all the People of the U. S. have been, for several years past, opposed to the policy of the existing Administration. I shall assume this in what I have further to say, because I believe it to be true; and I believe that events are on the wing, and will soon take place which will proclaim the truth of that position, and will show a vote of three-fourths of the population of this country in favor of a change of men [Cheers, and strong marks of assent.] Taking this for the present as the true state of political feeling and opinion, I next call your attention to the fact of the very extraordinary excitement, of agitation, and I had almost said of commotion, which marks the present moment throughout every part of the land. Why are these vast assemblages every where congregated! Why, for example, am I here, five hundred miles from my own place of residence, to address such an assembly of Virginians? And why does every day, in every State, witness something of a similar kind! Has this ever been the case before! Certainly not in our time, and once only in the time of our fathers. There are some present here who witnessed, and there are others who have learned from the lips of their parents, the state of feeling which existed in 1774 and '75, before the resort to arms was had to effect the objects of the Revolution. I speak now of the time when Patrick Henry, standing as we now do, in the open air, was addressing the Virginians of that day, while at the same moment James Otis, and his associates were making the same rousing appeal to the people of Massachusetts. [Loud cheering.] From that time to this, there has been nothing in any degree resembling what we now behold. This general earnestness, this universal concern of all men in public affairs, is now witnessed for the first time since the Revolution. Do not men abandon their fields in the midst of seed-time—do they not leave their various occupations, as you have now done, to attend to matters which they deem more important! And is it not so through all classes of our citizens all over the whole land! Now the important question I wish to put, is this, and I put it as a question fit for the mind of the statesmen of Virginia—I propose it, with all respect, to the deep deliberation and reflection of every patriotic man throughout the country—it is this: If it be true that a majority of the People of the U. S. have, for some years, been opposed in sentiment to the policy of the present Administration, WHY IS IT NECESSARY that these extraordinary efforts should be put forth to turn that administration out of power, and to put better men in their places! We inhabit a free country—every office of public trust is in our own hands, at the disposal of the People's own unbiassed suffrages: all public concerns are controlled and managed by them, at their own pleasure, and the trust has always been to the ballot-box as an effectual means to keep the Government at all times in conformity with the public will. How, then, has it happened, that with all this, such extraordinary efforts have been necessary to put out a particular Administration! Why has it not been done by the silent power of the elective franchise! Why has not the Government been changed both in its policy and in the men who administer it! I desire from the free, the thinking men of Virginia, an answer to that question. When the elections are every where showing that a large majority of the People are opposed in sentiment to the existing Administration! I desire them to tell me how that Administration, has held its place and pursued its own peculiar system of measures so long!

My answer to my own question is this: In my judgment, it has come to be true in the actual working of our system of Government, that the Executive power has increased its influence and its patronage to such a degree, that it may counteract the will of a majority of the People, and continue to do so, until that majority has not only become very large, but till it has united in its objects and in its candidate, and by a strenuous effort is enabled to turn the Administration out of power. I believe that the power and patronage of the Executive in our Government has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. I believe that it does enable the incumbents to resist the public will, until the country is roused to a high and simultaneous effort, and the imperative mandate of the public voice dismisses the unfaithful servants from their places. Now, I ask, can it be supposed that this Government can go on long in a course of successful operation, if no change can be produced without such an effort as that in which the People of this country are now engaged! I put it to the old-fashioned Republicans of Virginia. I ask them, whether it can be supposed that this free Republican Government of ours can last for a half century longer, if its Administration cannot be changed without such an excitement—I may say, such a civil revolution, as is now in progress, and, I trust, is near its completion!

I present this case as the greatest and strangest of all proofs that Executive power in this country has increased, and is dangerous to liberty; that when a majority of the people have for a long time been opposed to an administration, it still requires such an effort—it still demands that men should simultaneously relinquish all their private pursuits to produce a change of that Administration.

If this be so, then I ask, what are the causes which have given and have augmented this force of Executive power! The disciples of the ancient school of Virginia long entertained the opinion that there was great danger of encroachment by the General Government, on the just rights of the States; but they were also alarmed at the possibility of an undue augmentation of the Executive power. It becomes us at a crisis like the present, to recur to first principles—to go back to our early history, and to see how the question actually stands.

You all well know that, in the formation of a Constitution for the Government of this country, the great difficulty its framers encountered was with regard to the Executive power. It was easy to establish a House of Representatives and a second branch of the Government, in the form of a Senate, for it was a very obvious thing to say that the Senate should be represented in one House of Congress as the people were represented. But the great and perplexing question was, how to limit and regulate the Executive power in such a manner that while it defended the country, it should not be able to endanger civil liberty. Our fathers had seen and felt the inconvenience during the revolutionary war, of a weak Executive in Government. The country had suffered much from that cause. There was not any unity of purpose or efficiency of action in its Executive power. As the country had just emerged from one war, and might be plunged into another, they were looking intently to such a constitution as should secure an efficient Executive. Perhaps it remains to be seen, whether in this respect they had not better have given less power to this branch and taken all the inconvenience arising from the want of it, rather than to hazard the granting of so much as might prove dangerous not only to the other departments of Government, but to the safety and freedom of the country at large.

Because, in the first place, it is the Executive which confers all the favors of a Government. It has the patronage in its hands, and if we look at the augmentation of patronage which has taken place in this country, we shall see that in the course of things, and to answer the purposes of men, this patronage has greatly increased. We shall find the expenditures for office have very much increased. We shall find that this is true of the Civil and Diplomatic departments—we shall find it is true of all the departments, of the Post Office, and especially of the Commercial Department. Thus, to take an instance from one of our great commercial cities:—In the Custom House of New York the number of officers has in twelve years increased three fold—while the emoluments of office have been augmented more than three-fold, as well as I remember. There is thus a constant increase of power from the bestowment of office.

Then there is the power of removal; a power which in some instances has been exercised most remorselessly. By whatever party it is exercised, unless it can be called for by the actual exigencies of the public service, Virginia, more than any State of the Union, has ever rejected, disavowed the power of removal for opinion's sake. [Loud cheers.] I do honor to Virginia in this respect. That power has been far less practised in Virginia than in certain States where the Spoils' doctrine is known to be more popular. But this power of removal, sanctioned as it is by time, does exist, and I have seen it exercised in every part of the country where public opinion tolerated it, with a most remorseless hand

I will now say, however, that which I admit to be very presumptuous, because it is said, notwithstanding the illustrious authority of one of the greatest of your great men—a man better acquainted with the Constitution of the United States than any other man—a man who saw it in its cradle—who held it in its arms, as one may say, in its infancy—who presented and recommended it to the American people, and who saw it adopted very much under the force of his own reasoning and the weight of his own reputation—who lived long enough to see it prosperous—to enjoy its honors—and who at last went down to the grave among ten thousand blessings for which morning and evening he had thanked God—I mean James Madison. Yet, even from this great and good man, whom I hold to be the chief among the interpreters of the Constitution, I am constrained, however presumptuous it may be considered, to differ in relation to one of his interpretations of that instrument. I refer to the opinion expressed by him, that the power of removal from office does exist in the constitution as an independent power. I wish he had taken a different view of it. I do not say that he was wrong; that in me would be too great presumption. I advert to this now, to show, that I am not now for the first time preaching against the danger of an increase of Executive power; for when the subject was in discussion before Congress, I expressed there the same opinions which I have now uttered, and which have been only the more confirmed by more recent experience. The power of removal places the hopes and fears, the living, the daily bread of men at the disposal of the Executive, and does, thereby, cause a vast augmentation of Executive influence and control. Then, again, from the very nature of things the Executive power acts constantly: it is always in being—always in the citadel and on the look out; and it has, besides, uniformity of purpose. They who are in, have but one object, which is to keep all others out; while those who are not in office, and who desire a change, have a variety of different objects as they are to be found in different parts of the country. One complains of one thing, another of another; and, ordinarily, there is no strict unity of object or of candidate; and, therefore, it is, that those wielding power within the citadel are able to keep the others out though they may be more numerous. Hence we have seen an Administration, though in a minority, yet by the continued exercise of power, able to bring over the people to the support of such a measure as the Sub-Treasury, which, when it was first proposed, received but little favor in any part of the country.

Again: though it may appear comparatively inconsiderable, yet, when we are looking at the means by which the Executive power has risen to its present threatening height, we must not overlook the power of—I will not say a pensioned—but of a patronized Press. Of all things in popular Government, a *Government Press* is the most to be dreaded. The press furnishes the only means of public address; and if the Government, by supporting, comes to control it, then they take to themselves, at the public expense, the great channel of all communication to the people. Unless France be an exception, where the Minister regularly demands so many thousand francs for the management of the public press, I know of no Government in the world where the Press is avowedly patronized to the same extent as it is in this country. Have not you, men of Virginia, been mortified to witness the importance which is attached at Washington to the election of Public Printer! to observe the great anxiety and solicitude which even your friends have been obliged to exercise to keep that appointment out of the hands of Executive power! One of the first things to be done when a new Administration shall come into power will be to separate the Government Press from the politics of the country. [Loud cheers.] I don't want the Government Printer to preach politics to the people; because I know before hand what politics he will preach—it will be one *To Triumphe* from the beginning of the first page to the end of the last paragraph. I am for cutting off this power from the Executive. Give the people fair play. I say *give the People fair play.* If they think the Government is in error, or that better men may be found to administer it, give them a chance to turn the present men out, and put better men in; but don't let them be compelled to give their money to pay a man to persuade them not to change the Government.—[Laughter and loud cheering.]

Well, there are still other modes by which Executive power is established and confirmed—the first thing it seeks to do is to draw strict lines of party opinion, to appeal to the party feelings of men.—This is a topic which might lead me very far into an enquiry as to the causes which have overturned all popular Governments. It is the nature of men to be credulous and confiding towards their friends. If there exists in the country a powerful party, and if the head of that party be the head of the Government, and avowing himself the head of that party, gives thanks for the public honors he has received, not to the country, but to his party, then we can see the causes in operation which, according to the well known character and tendencies of man, lead us to give undue trust and confidence to party favorites. Why, gentlemen, Kings and Queens of old, and probably in modern time, have had their favorites, and they have given them unbounded trust. Well, there are sometimes among the people persons who are no wiser than Kings and Queens, who have favorites also, and give to those favorites the same blind trust and confidence.—Hence, it is very difficult, nay, sometimes impossible, to convince a party that the man at its head exercises an undue amount of power. They say, "he is our friend; the more power he wields the better for us, because he will wield it for our benefit." There are two sorts of Republicans in the world: one is a very good sort, the other, I think, quite indifferent. The latter care not what power persons in office possess, if they have the election of those persons. They are quite willing their favorites should exercise all powers, and are perfectly content with the tendencies of Government to an elective despotism, if they may choose the man at the head of it, and especially if they have a chance of being chosen themselves. That is one sort of Republicanism. But that is not our American liberty; that is not the Republicanism of the United States, and especially of the State of Virginia.—Virginians do not rush out into that extravagant confidence in them; they are for restraining power by law; they are for hedging in and strictly guarding all who exercise it. They look upon all who are in office as limited agents, and will not repose too much trust in any. That is American Republicanism. What was it Thomas Jefferson said with so much emphasis? Have we found angels in the form of men to govern us? However it might have been then, we of this day may answer no, no.—[Loud laughter.] We have found them at least like others, a "little lower than the Angels."—[Roars of laughter.] In the same spirit he has said an elective despotism is not the Government we fought for. And that is true. But our fathers fought for a limited Government—a Government hedged all round with securities—or, as I heard a distinguished son of Virginia say, one fenced in with ten rails and a top rider. [Loud laughter.]

Gentlemen: A distinguished lover of liberty of our own time, in another hemisphere, said, with apparent paradox, that the quantity of liberty in any country is exactly equal to the quantity of restraint, because if Government is restrained from putting its hands upon you, to that extent you are free; and all regular liberty consists in putting restraints upon Government and individuals—so that they shall not interfere with your freedom of action and purpose. You may easily simplify Government; shallow thinkers talk of a simple Government; Turkey is the simplest Government in the world.—But if you wish to secure entire personal liberty, you must multiply restraints upon the Government, so that it cannot go further than the public good requires. Then you may be free, and not otherwise.

Another great power by which Executive influence augments itself, especially when the man who wields it stands at the head of a party, consists in the use of names. *Mirabeau* said that words are things, and so they are. But I believe that they are often fraudulent things, and always possed of real power. The faculty of taking to ourselves a popular name and giving an unpopular name to an adversary, is a faculty of very great concern in politics. I put it to you, gentlemen, whether for the last month or two, the whole of this Government has not consisted chiefly in the discharge of a shower of hard names. Have you for a month past heard any man defend the Sub-Treasury? Have you heard any man during that time burn his fingers by taking hold of Mr. Poinsett's Militia project? Their whole resort has been to pour out upon us a tide of denunciation as aristocrats, aristocrats taking to themselves the meanwhile the well deserved designation of true Democrats. How cheering, how delightful, that a man independent of any regard to his own character or worth, may thus range himself under a banner the most acceptable of all others to his fellow citizens. It is with false patriotism as with base money; all goes by the stamp. It does not wish to be weighed, it hates the scales: it is thrown into horrors at the crucible, it must all go by tail; it hold's out the king's head with his name and subscription, and if challenged, replies: Do you not see the stamp on my forehead? I belong to the Democratic family—make me current. [Loud laughter and cheering.] But we live in an age too enlightened to be gulled by this business of stamping; we have learned to enquire into the true nature and value of things. Democracy most surely is not a term of reproach, but respect.—Our Government is a constitutional, Democratic Republican Government, and if they mean that only, there is none will dispute that they are good Democrats. But if they set up qualifications and distinctions, if there are *genera and species*, it may require twenty political Linnæuses to say to which classification they belong.

There is another contrivance for the increase of Executive power, which is utterly abhorrent to all true patriots, against which in an especial manner Gen. Washington has left us his farewell injunction; I mean the constant recurrence to local differences and jealousies. That is the great bane and curse of this lovely country of ours. It covers a vast extent of Territory, hence there are few among us in Massachusetts who enjoy the advantage of a personal intercourse with our friends in Virginia, and but few of you who visit us in Massachusetts—the South is still more remote; the difference which exists in habits and pursuits between us, enables the enemy to sow tares by exciting local prejudices on both sides. Sentiments are mutually ascribed to us which neither ever entertained. By this means, a party press is enabled to foment jealousies and to destroy that generous spirit of brotherhood which should exist between us. All patriotic men ought to carefully guard themselves against the effect of arts like these.

And here I am brought to advert for one moment to what I constantly see in all the Administration papers from Baltimore, South. It is some periodical outcry, admonishing the People of the South that their own State Governments, and the property they hold under them, are not secure if they admit a Northern man to any considerable share in the administration of the Government. You all know that this is the general cry. Now I have spoken my sentiments in the neighborhood of Virginia, though not actually within the State, in June last, and again in the heart of Massachusetts in July, so that it is not now that I proclaim them for the first time—but ten years ago, when obliged to speak on this same subject I uttered the same sentiment in regard to slavery and to the existence of all power in Congress to interfere, in any manner whatever, with that subject.

I delivered my sentiments fully in Alexandria in the month of June, and July at Worcester, in Massachusetts. I shall ask some friend connected with the Press, to circulate in Virginia what I said on this subject in the Senate of the United States on the 30th of January last. I have nothing to add or to subtract from what I then said. I commend it to your attention, or rather I desire you to look at it. I hold that Congress is absolutely precluded from interfering in any manner, direct or indirect, with this, as with any other of the institutions of the country. (The cheering was here loud and long continued, and a voice from a crowd exclaimed, "We are here from Maryland to Louisana, and we desire that the sentiment just expressed may be repeated. Repeat, Repeat.) Well—repeat it—proclaim it on the wings of all the winds—tell it to all your friends—[cries of "we will, we will"]—tell it, I say, that standing here in the capital of Virginia, beneath an October sun, in the midst of this assemblage, before the entire country and upon all the responsibility which belongs to me, I say that there is no power directly or indirectly in Congress or the General Government to interfere in the slightest degree with the Institutions of the South. [Immense cheering, and a voice from the crowd exclaiming, "that is two thousand votes for Harrison."]

And now, said Mr. W., I ask you only to do me one favor (we'll do it) I ask you to carry that paper home, (we will, we will) read it, read it to your neighbors; and when you hear the cry, "shall *Mr. Webster, the abolitionist*, be allowed to profane the soil of Virginia," [loud shouts and repeated prolonged cheers, with cries of "welcome! welcome! welcome!"] that you will tell them that, in connexion with the doctrine in that speech, I hold that there are two governments over us, each possessing its own distinct authority, with which the other may not interfere. I may differ from you in some things, but I will here say that as to the doctrine of State Rights as held by Mr. Madison in his last days, I do not know that we differ at all [cheers]—yet I am here and among the foremost to hold that it is indispensable to the prosperity of these Governments to preserve, and he is no true friend to either who does not labor to preserve, that true distinction between both. [Immense cheering]

We may not all see the line which divides them alike, but all honest men know that there is a line, and they all fear to go either on the one or the other side of it. It is this balance between the General and the State Governments which has preserved the country in unexampled prosperity for fifty years—and the destruction of this just balance will be the destruction of our Government. What I believe to be the doctrine of State Rights, I hold as firmly as any man. Do I not belong to a State? and may I not say, to a State which has done something to give herself renown, and to her sons some little share of participated distinction? [Great cheering.] I say again, that the preservation of State Rights on the one hand, and of the just powers of Congress upon the other, is equally indispensable to the preservation of our free Republican Government. [Cheers.]

And now, gentlemen, permit me to address to you a few words in regard to those measures of the General Government which have caused the existing excitement throughout the country. I will pass rapidly over them. (Go on.) I need not argue to you Democrats the question of the Sub-Treasury, (groans and contemptuous laughter:) and I suppose it is hardly necessary to speak to you of Mr. Poinsett's Militia Bill. (Laughter.) Into which of your mountains has not its discussion penetrated?—Up which of all your winding streams has not its echo floated? I am sure he must be very tired of it himself. (Loud laughter.) Remember always that the great principle of the Constitution on that subject, is that the militia is the militia of the States, and not of the President—(Loud cheers, and cries, of "yes, yes!") and being thus the militia of the States, there is no part of the Constitution worded with greater care, and with a more scrupulous jealousy than that which speaks of the power of Congress over the militia. Does it say that Congress may make use of the militia as it pleases—that the militia may be called out to make war, to train and discipline? No such thing: the terms used are the most precise and particular "The President may call out the militia to execute the laws, to suppress insurrection, and to repel foreign invasion." These three cases are specified—and these are all. Call on the militia to drill them? To discipline them? To march the militia of Virginia to Wheeling to be drilled! Why, such a thing